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THE

THREE IRISH CHURCHES

AN HISTORICAL ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT SION COLLEGE

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BY

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THREE IRISH CHURCHES

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PREFACE.

'THIS ADDRESS was delivered to a similar audience to that before which now nearly a year since I delivered an Address on the subject of the Connexion of Church and State. One instance of that connexion—the Irish Established Church—at that time so little entered into general consideration, that neither by me nor any of the other speakers was the slightest allusion made to it. Within twelve months that corner of the subject, which was then too insignificant to be noticed, has become the chief ground on which the larger question is discussed. It is not my intention on this occasion to re-enter that larger field. The main positions for which I then contended have not been shaken by anything that has occurred since. Nor is it my wish to discuss in detail any of the remedies which have been or which may be proposed on the smaller question which now rivets the public attention. I have carefully avoided the use of the phrases 'establishment' or 'disendowment,' from the conviction that used as they are in different cases by the various parties who employ them, they are, until carefully defined, 'words without knowledge,' which, 'darken counsel' instead of enlighten. Whilst expressing now, as formerly, my regret for the Nonconformists of England and

Free Churchmen of Scotland, I venture still to refer to the arguments I then used to show that liberty, progress, and order are best promoted by the connexion of the State with the Church, as represented, on the whole, in the Church of England, and that there is no reason suddenly for surrendering this opportunity of future greatness and usefulness because political opinion has for the moment coincided with a strong hierarchical movement against it.

I have endeavoured to approach the subject by what, in his late excellent answer to the Court of Rome, the Patriarch of Constantinople calls 'the historical method,' and, in so doing, I will venture in all humility to use the admirable words of our great Quaker statesman (William Penn[1]): 'Before I begin, I desire to premise that I intend 'not the reproach of any party. I am weary with seeing 'so much reproach in the world, for it gains nothing 'worth keeping, but hardens to desperateness what it 'is our duty to endeavour to soften. If without offence 'I may speak the truth, I shall, by God's help, deliver 'myself with the modesty and integrity which become 'a Christian and an Englishman.'

[1] Penn: *Address to Protestants in* 1686.

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THE

THREE IRISH CHURCHES.

THERE are in the city of Armagh three main thoroughfares, Irish Street, English Street, Scots Street. These three streets represent the three Nations, the three Churches of Ireland. The Three Churches.

We cannot speak of the Established Church as if it were the only Irish Church with which the English State has to deal, or of the Roman Catholics as constituting the only nation which exists in Ireland, or of either or both without reference to the powerful body of Presbyterians and the cognate Churches which flourish beside them. To

> 'untwist this' triple 'thread of life
> 'Into its first consistencies'

will be the object of this address.

(1.) The contrast begins from the earliest times. 'Pass- The Celtic Church.
'ing over,' as the Irish historians say, 'the landing of 'Cæsaria, Noah's niece,' we may pass over also the vexed question of the origin of Irish Christianity. Whether it came from Rome or from Asia Minor, there is no doubt that its form when first we become acquainted with it was totally different, not only from what it wears now either in the Protestant or Roman Church, but from what it wore at that time in any other European country.

It is the boast—it was, perhaps, the misfortune of Ireland, that alone in Western Europe it had stood apart

Ireland not conquered by the Romans.

from the great world of the Roman Empire.[1] That spark of civilisation which was communicated to France and England by the invasion of Julius Cæsar was withheld from Ireland. Doubtless, already in the Middle Ages, this was compensated by the introduction of Norman discipline and Latin Christianity. But even a nation has some difficulty in making up long arrears of backwardness; and it may be thought that, as we see individuals who have never been able to repair the loss of a classical education, so in Ireland we still perceive the effects of the five blank centuries which she lost in the race of progress, compared with her Celtic neighbours in Britain and Gaul.

But historically this gives to the ancient Irish Church peculiar interest. It thus preserved or developed features quite apart from the rest of Christendom, which are, therefore, amongst the choicest treasures of ecclesiastical history, just as the Christians of S. Thomas in India, when first discovered by Roman and by Protestant missionaries, baffled and instructed them both alike.

The Irish Missionaries.

There is a certain sense in which the ancient glory of Erin as the Isle of Saints may be borne out. Probably, from its insular situation, there was a special opportunity for leisure and study in ecclesiastical retreats such as those which sprang up on the windings of the Shannon at Clonmacnoise, on the shores of the Lough of Belfast at Bangor, or on the sacred hill of Armagh. And from these spots wanderers started forth on their travels, who carried the fame of Ireland, together with the light of the Gospel, to countries which might have been expected to have rather received religion and civilisation from Italy

[1] This is well put in Dr. Andrews' interesting and learned pamphlet, *The Church in Ireland*, pp. 2, 8; and Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 48. In fact, the ground of the Pope's donation of it to Henry II. was that it was a still unconquered *island*.

or Greece. St. Columba in Scotland, St. Gall in Switzerland, St. Fridolin in Alsace, St. Cataldus in Tarentum, St. Keiran in Cornwall, supplied from the fifth to the seventh century the missions which in the thirteenth were furnished by Rome, in the sixteenth by Spain, and in the nineteenth by England.

But not the less is it true, that when the English first became masters of Ireland, it was and had been for generations in a state of chronic confusion and barbarism. It would seem that, as in the case of Irish soldiers, and of Irish men of letters, so also in the case of the Irish Church, the very same qualities which abroad made them conspicuous for valour, intelligence, and energy, at home ran to riot and disorder, or were lost in stagnation. The same power of achieving a great foreign career, which in war was proved by the Irish Brigade[1] and by the Duke of Wellington, and in literature by Oliver Goldsmith and by Edmund Burke, had in earlier days shown itself in these famous missionaries, whilst Ireland herself was as much behind the rest of the world as they were before it. The ecclesiastical confusion of those times was the counterpart of their civil disorders. There were bishops—but bishops as much removed from Cardinal Cullen or Archbishop Trench, as from the Presbyterian Moderator at Belfast or from the Wesleyan ministers of Enniskillen. They were to be counted, not as now by tens or twelves, but by hundreds. A hundred were crowded together in a single monastery. Three hundred and fifty are said to have been consecrated by Patrick alone. Hardly less than a thousand were scattered over the island. All the efforts of Church and State have since been spent on the reduction of these innumerable

Early Irish Bishops.

[1] Compare Lord Macaulay's description of the Irish Brigade.

bishops. Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant, is strewed with the relics of suppressed sees. But these early prelates had no dioceses, no jurisdiction, hardly any power.[1] They pursued their secular employments, ploughing with oxen in the fields; or more often they were like chaplains dependent on the abbots or abbesses of the different religious communities.[2] The mere ritual functions of episcopacy were discharged by them, as the sacerdotal functions of the tribe of Levi are now discharged in the Jewish Church by the obscure tradesmen or mechanics, in whose veins the blood of Aaron is supposed to flow. At Armagh, the centre of Irish Christianity, where Episcopacy might be supposed to have taken deeper root than elsewhere, there was a long succession of lay hereditary chiefs, who for fifteen occupations held the primacy. At Kildare, the Abbess Bridget, guardian of the sacred fire of Ireland, was, according to one tradition, herself consecrated to the episcopate by St. Moel, Bishop of Ardagh; according to another, she appointed Condleaedh, 'the Wise 'Hugh,' to be her bishop or archbishop to govern with her the whole Irish Church, in the joint chair of the Bishop and Lady of Kildare.[3] The Lady did not hesitate to appropriate, without the consent of the Bishop, his much-prized vestments to the use of the poor. The Bishop, for venturing to set out for Rome without the permission of the Lady, drew from her a terrible curse, which was believed to have caused a pack of wolves to pursue him and devour him before he had left the country.

It was a less anomaly, but still one which in the eyes of strict ecclesiologists has been held to vitiate the

[1] Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 97. [2] Ibid. p. 30.
[3] Episcopalis et Puellaris Cathedra (Ibid. pp. 12, 13, 14, 22, 25, 26).

Christianity of the Swedish Church, that they were often consecrated by a single bishop,[1] sometimes without passing through the order of priesthood.

So unlike were these roving bishops to those of the surrounding countries, that their appearance was a signal of disorder wherever they came. The Frankish prelates were amazed at their irregular proceedings. The transplantation of this Presbyterian system to Scotland in the case of the settlement of Iona was often a perplexity to the ecclesiastical historians of Britain, who knew not that it had long been part of the normal condition of the sister island. The Danish settlers in Ireland, who had been accustomed to more civilised and canonical practices in Germany and Scandinavia, refused to receive clergy from those wild barbaric pastors, and preferred to derive their succession direct from England or from Rome. The Council of Chelsea forbade any Irish priest to assist or take part in any functions in England.[2] The Episcopal order in Ireland has never shaken off the effects of this early Presbyterianism. It has been felt alike both by Protestant and Roman Catholic hierarchies, alike in their needless multiplication, and in their restricted influence.[3]

Early Irish Religion.

The peculiarities of the Irish national religion which can most directly be traced to those early times, are precisely the points not of agreement but of disagreement with both the Catholicism and the Protestantism of later days. The belief in charms, and 'rhans,' and in the presence of fairies, the attachment to sacred stones and sacred wells—the Festival of the Crumduff or Black Crooked[4] Stone, before All Saints' Day; the stone of

[1] See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 349.
[2] Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 46.
[3] See *Essays on the Irish Church*, p. 179.
[4] Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 128.

destiny, the stones of Columba; the sacred cow[1] of Clonmacnoise, the sacred oaks of Derry and Kildare;[2] the pilgrimages to Croagh Patrick, and Lough Derg, and Glen Columbkill;[3] these belong to the old Irish Church, and have descended to the Celtic population in spite of the opposition of the Roman, and the indifference of the Protestant, hierarchy. Clonmacnoise, and Glendalough, and Monasterboice, have long ago, except as places of pilgrimage and burial, been deserted alike by Protestants and Roman Catholics. In their diminutive size, in their lonely situations, in their union of curiously graceful and elaborate sculpture with the most primitive and uncultivated forms of architecture—in them, and not in the cathedrals of Armagh, Dublin, or Kilkenny, we see the true sanctuaries of the ancient Irish race. This is the old national religion of Ireland, no doubt, chiefly interwoven with the modern Roman Catholic worship, partly also penetrating even into the Protestant population, but in itself separate from both, and so to be considered, if any calm and just view is to be taken of the subsequent phases of the ecclesiastical condition of the island. It is this which renders all antiquarian arguments on behalf of one or other of the existing Churches in Ireland almost absolutely futile. St. Patrick may be the Apostle of Ireland, but he is not the founder[4] by lineal succession, or by

[1] Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 352. [2] Ibid. p. 288.

[3] The sanctity of Lough Derg is at once one of the most deeply rooted of Irish beliefs, and yet discountenanced by the high authorities of the Roman Church. Ask the peasants on the spot, and they tell us that 'it 'is as old as Christianity, often attempted to be destroyed, but always in 'vain.' Look at the Roman Catholic historian Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist.* i. p. 376), and he tells us that it was set up in jealousy of Croagh Patrick, that it was demolished in 1497 by order of the Pope, and that 'this fable' having got into a Roman breviary in 1522, orders were issued that it should not appear in any future edition.

[4] Let anyone who doubts read the account of the '*coarbs*' in Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 156–158, 172–186.

succession of faith, of either the Protestant or Roman Catholic prelates of the present day. The sacred hill of Tara was cursed not by Cromwell, but by the monks of St. Ruadhan. Lough Derg was suppressed by Pope Innocent VIII. long before it was suppressed by James I. The confusion of the Irish Church began long before William III. or Henry VIII., long even before Henry II. or Strongbow. The antipathy to the world-old custom of tithes has from the earliest times distinguished the Irish Churches from the rest of Christendom. 'They 'have always been at war with it,' says a famous Irish Roman prelate,[2] in a tone strangely in defiance of the decrees of Popes and Councils, 'and I trust in God they 'never will cheerfully submit to it. It was objected to 'them as a crime by Giraldus Cambrensis, and at the 'end of six hundred years they resist with increased 'obstinacy.'[2]

One specimen of the ancient Irish Church will suffice for a thousand. If the effect of Dr. Todd's learned labours on St. Patrick is to envelope him in a thicker mist of doubt than ever, it must be acknowledged that Dr. Reeves' investigations and Montalembert's description of St. Columba have made us feel that in him we have before us an undoubted man of flesh and blood, an unquestionable Irishman! indeed the very impersonation of the vindictive fierceness, the passionate curses for which Irish saints[3] have been celebrated, from the character given of them by Giraldus Cambrensis down to the curse of the Dublin Chapter on the Earls of Kildare, St. Columba.

[1] Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, ii. p. 282.

[2] The Catholic antipathy to tithes appeared at the time of the Norman invasion; the Protestant antipathy through a long series of agitations, down to the repeal of the tithe of agistment in 1748, the insurrection of the Whiteboys, &c. (Ibid. ii. p. 385).

[3] Reeves' *Adamnan*, lxxvii.

and yet further still of the Orange Lodges on those who refuse to drink their toast.[1] His real name was fitly taken from the wild Fox (Crimthan) of the Irish hills, but, in a kind of grim irony, was exchanged for that of the Dove (Columba). He was of gigantic stature; he had a voice that could be heard for more than a mile; his features were frightfully harsh,[2] but with large soft gray eyes. He had all the passion for instruction still characteristic of his countrymen, which in that early age showed itself in the desire of copying manuscripts. On old Langharad, the recluse of Ossory, whose bare legs were clothed with a thick covering of white hair,[3] who refused to Columba his request to examine his works, he discharged the curse that his writings might become for ever illegible. From his master Finnian he contrived to steal by night a copy of his most valuable psalter. For this breach of copyright he was prosecuted by Finnian, who had detected him by looking through the keyhole.[4] King Diarmid, the founder of the learned sanctuary of Clonmacnoise, was not an unsuitable judge in such a lawsuit. At Tara he pronounced the famous decree, 'To every cow its calf; to every 'book its booklet.' By this judgment the copy was awarded to the owner of the original manuscript. But Columba refused to restore it. The whole tribe of the O'Donnells took part in the war. The contested copy became the 'Fighting Psalter'—the palladium of the O'Donnell tribe. It was borne on the breast of their priest into the thick of the battle. It still remains in Dublin, a monument of the Irish Church of that militant age.

[1] Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 14, 285, 286.

[2] *St. Qualm*, as he was termed by the Anglo-Saxons (Reeves' *Adamnan*, cxxviii.).

[3] Montalembert, iii. p. 124.

[4] For this his eye had been pecked out by a faithful crane at Columba's side.

The fierce battle of Culdrevny was the result; and in the horror excited by the torrents of blood that were shed, Columba[1] was ordered to expiate his crime by crossing the seas to Scotland.[2] In all this the Apostle of Scotland was but the ancestor of the wild, faction-fighting peasant and priest of the present day.[3]

Attractions of the Celtic Church.

But Columba's own career is mixed with traits as touching and as fascinating as the fierce curses with which the hills of Donegal and the rocks of the Hebrides alike resounded are repulsive. That passionate longing for his native country which finds its vent in stories as true to the Irish nature now as they are beautiful in themselves —that home-sickness for the beloved scenes of Bangor and Derry, that breaks out in the poems which, if not actually his, are at least as characteristic of him as they are of his race—that pathetic record of his death on the rocky shores of Iona, with his weeping friends, and his favourite white pony sharing in the human sorrow—belong to the same attaching influence which no race in these dominions except the Irish has been able to exercise over even its proudest conquerors and its bitterest opponents. It is thus no less true that some of the more elevating characteristics of Irish religion must be traced rather to the national Celtic character than to the great Church to which that race owes allegiance. And thus hardly anywhere else in Europe has the Roman hierarchy been enabled to secure, amidst the nations subject to it, such purity

[1] By St. Molash, at Devenish (Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 252).

[2] Ibid. pp. 248, 249.

[3] The whole of the story of Columba's early life is suppressed by Adamnan, and disbelieved by the later Roman Catholic historian Lanigan. It is much to the credit of the Irish annalists that they have preserved, and to the candour of Montalembert that he has resuscitated, a series of incidents so characteristic, and with such an appearance of authenticity. Their statements, whilst intrinsically probable, are more than confirmed by the dark hints both of Adamnan and of Bede.

of domestic life as is said to be the glory of the squalid cottages of Ireland.[1] Hardly anywhere else has such a moral movement pervaded a great Catholic population, and struck down, at least for the moment, its besetting sin, as the Temperance movement under Father Mathew.[2] Nowhere could we find such traits of heroic fidelity and tenderness, combined with such traits of barbaric perfidy and cruelty, as we read in Mr. Trench's 'Realities of 'Irish Life.'

The Celtic character, with all its winning attractiveness, no less than its apparently incorrigible pliability and ferocity, is the field in which all subsequent labourers have to toil. It furnishes that magic charm, that touch of romance, so well described by Matthew Arnold in his 'Lectures on Celtic Literature,' by the side of which all merely English culture seems stale and flat. If there is a grain of historic truth in the legend which represents the Stone of Destiny, on which the English kings are still enthroned, to have come from the Hill of Tara, there is a still deeper poetic truth in the legend which represents the most romantic sanctuary of England, Stonehenge, to have been transported from the plain of Naas in Leinster to the plain of Salisbury to witness the coronation of the ideal, fairy, Celtic prince, the founder of chivalry, the lost, lamented Arthur.[3] Hence comes that tangled, many-coloured web, by which the Irish Penelope for ever baffles her political suitors, for ever unweaving by night what she or they seem to have woven by day; which no outward change of church after church, or chief after chief, has ever been able to bring to completion.

[1] Naples alone is said in this respect to rival it.

[2] Bishop Doyle (Fitzpatrick, ii. 486) had already begun to denounce the Irish drunkenness.

[3] Giraldus, *Dist.* ii. 18.

This is the true Church of the aboriginal people which will remain, the stuff out of which they will be formed, irrespectively of Pope or Orangeman, of Whig or Tory, of statesman or of sectary. It is something apart from Catholicism, apart from Protestantism. Even as late as 1825, a scheme was discussed by the Irish Roman Catholic bishops for the establishment of an Irish 'Patriarch,' who should become the real head of the old national Church, fostered by the most powerful of all the Roman Catholic prelates of that time, Bishop Doyle; partly, it has been conjectured, from his having been familiarised with the idea in Portugal, where he had been educated, and where a 'Patriarchate of Lisbon' has long existed.[1] But it also fell in with the national spirit of Ireland, just as the like institution had coincided with the independent spirit of the Portuguese Church, and, before that, of the Venetian. It was a sentiment akin to that which caused the Irish Church, in defiance of the rest of Catholic Christendom, to adhere, during the last century, to the principles of Jansenism. What were the exact causes of this, it would require a deeper discussion of the controversy than can be entered upon here. But the fact—which seems undoubted—is not the less instructive, as showing the insulated and insubordinate character of Irish ecclesiastical life. It is a tendency which may again one day revive, and convert the most obedient sons of Rome into her most deadly enemies.[2]

First Patriarchate.

What the Roman hierarchy itself has been and is, in Ireland, so far as it represents the Celtic race, and with the marked exceptions hereafter to be mentioned, is a story which can hardly be told by a stranger. But its main peculiarity has arisen from its identification with the

[1] Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, ii. p. 74.

[2] Ibid. p. 419.

The Roman Catholic Hierarchy.

people. This has been its glory and also its bane. Its glory, because under the terrible penal laws of the last century the clergy became the natural leaders of the people, and the people the natural protectors of the clergy. Those who had gathered together for their most solemn acts of worship, under dripping rocks, and on wild morasses and in roofless ruins, were drawn together with a closeness of affection and interest, like to that which, for the same reason, drew together the ministers and the flocks of the Scottish Covenanters. The result has been that in no Roman Catholic country in Europe have the priesthood obtained such an ascendency over the people.[1] Nowhere are their blessings more eagerly sought, their curses more dreaded. This situation has also been their bane, because it has brought about that dependence on their flocks, both materially and morally, to counteract the evils of which has been the object of almost every eminent statesman of whatever party; because it has engendered in them a necessity of descending to the manners, almost the vices, of the lower classes—a dread of placing themselves in opposition to any popular movement, however unreasonable, that foreign or domestic agitation may set on foot. One portrait, again, for good or evil, may stand for all—the Pope of Ireland at the beginning of this century—Dr. Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare—the original 'Lion of the tribe of 'Judah.'[2] We almost seem to see his long unfleshy arms,

[1] The sentiment towards the clergy, however, extends beyond the Roman Catholic Church, and belongs in part to the natural instincts of the Celtic race. A Protestant clergyman in the north, in the cottage of a poor woman, struck a light with a lucifer match, and her first thought was that it was a priestly miracle—'The Lord stand between us and harm! great is the power 'of the *clargy*!'

[2] Fitzpatrick, ii. p. 338. The present 'Lion of the tribe of Judah,' whose abode is at Tuam, belongs to the same indigenous national type.

his pointedly lean shoulders, his high broad forehead,[1] his long dark eyelashes, his half-closed eye and sly Irish smile. We recognise his commanding character even in the smallest traits:—'When you act as a bishop be always 'in the right, and stand to it.'[2] 'But what if I am in 'the wrong?' 'No matter, be always in the right.' 'Give me something to do,' he exclaims when he is ill;[3] 'I don't ask for a Father of the Church; but give me 'something, for the love of God, if it be only the Pagan 'Tacitus.' When asked to remain at his fireside, and spare himself by sending a letter to the synod, 'Pshaw! 'I might as well send this poker.'[4] Nothing is more triumphant than his leadership of the Roman Catholic Relief movement. Nothing is more praiseworthy than his struggles in defence of national education, and against the Whitefoot and Blackfoot insurgents. Nothing is more tragical than his mixture of despondency and terror at the prospect of coming into collision with the popular agitators, which at last wore him out.[5] His tomb in the Roman Catholic cathedral of Carlow[6] is the lasting monument of his fame and of his sorrows. Bishop Doyle.

(2.) From the Church of the Celts we turn to the Church of the English settlers. The founder of that Church is not Henry VIII. or Elizabeth. He sleeps in Christ Church Cathedral, beside Eva, the Irish Helen—Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. But, almost contemporaneously with the landing of Strongbow at Waterford, another new element had appeared in Ireland, which materially conduced to the first formation of an 'Established Church.' The first 'establisher,' or organiser, of any regular ecclesiastical system in Ireland was Malachi, or Maal-Maadhog O'Margair, of The Established Church.

[1] Fitzpatrick, ii. pp. 353, 383.
[2] Ibid. ii. p. 146.
[3] Ibid. ii. p. 49.
[4] Ibid. ii. p. 468.
[5] Ibid. ii. pp. 175, 346, 367, 412.
[6] Ibid. ii. p. 67.

Malachi of Armagh.

Armagh, the friend of St. Bernard, of whom that saint says that 'he was no more affected by the barbarism 'of his nation than fishes by the saltness of the sea.' He first broke the succession of the lay prelates of Armagh, and grasped the episcopal insignia which were in possession of one of the chiefs of the O'Neills. He first, or nearly the first, broke through the practice of his countrymen, by exchanging wooden wattled buildings for stone churches; and was met with the indignant cry, since repeated in many tones, 'We are Scots,[1] and not 'Frenchmen;' or, as his countrymen in later times would say, 'We are Irishmen, and not Englishmen.' Through him the Cistercian monks were first brought from Clairvaux into Ireland; and the exquisite ruin in the retired vale of Mellifont recalls, not only in its architecture, but in its situation, the like remains of the Gallican Cistercians; the more from its contrast with the bleak, bewildered groups of diminutive chapel and tower, and rudely-carved crosses, in the adjacent sanctuary of Monasterboice; the one as certainly native and Irish, as the other is certainly continental and French.

French influence.

It may be that, even had no English conquest supervened, this French influence would have either created a new Church or materially modified the old one. But, in point of fact, the arrival[2] of the Norman knights from Pembrokeshire was the signal of the decisive intrusion of an alien Church upon the Irish nation. It was not that

[1] 'Scot,' it must be remembered, was then equivalent to 'Irish.'

[2] 'Two Churches practically existed before the Reformation—the one that 'of the Anglo-Norman pale, representing the ascendency of the old colonists; 'the other that of the Celtic clans, embodying the traditions of a half-'conquered and half-savage race' (*Fraser's Magazine*, Dec. 1868, p. 696). I quote from this essay, as being written in a tone more or less antagonistic to the general purport of this address, and therefore the more unexceptionable as an authority (compare also Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 231).

Ireland had in any way before this made herself independent of the See of Rome, or disconnected herself from Catholic Christianity as then professed by Western Christendom. But the change was hardly less marked than if a new form of religion had been introduced. Pope Adrian IV, who was the only Pope of English origin, and to whom, by a singular coincidence, it fell to make the present of Ireland to his countrymen, exhorts Henry II. (with a disregard of history not uncommon in the occupants of that great See) 'to make known the true Christian faith 'to those ignorant and barbarian tribes.'[1] Giraldus, the Welshman, who accompanied the first conquerors—however much his accounts[2] may be exaggerated—speaks of the Irish as we might speak of the New Zealanders. The old Archbishop of Armagh, who appeared at Dublin amongst the English courtiers followed everywhere by his white cow,[3] on whose milk he lived; the lay-ecclesiastical potentates, who came out with their long yellow hair streaming over their shoulders and down their backs, were as unlike to the princely Norman prelates of Canterbury and Winchester as they would be to modern Cardinal or modern Primate.[4] And, on the other hand, the repugnance of the aboriginal people to the new settlers was the same in kind, if not in degree, as it has been ever since. 'You have had no martyrs in Ire-'land,' was the taunt of a Norman ecclesiastic to a native Irish priest. 'We have had none yet,' was the ready

Norman Conquest.

[1] See Dr. Andrews' *Church in Ireland*, p. 8.

[2] Lingard, who, though a Roman Catholic, writes as an Englishman, is constrained to believe in their substantial truth. Lanigan, who, though a Roman Catholic, writes as an Irishman, attacks the Pope and the Synod of Cashel almost with the fury of an Orangeman.

[3] Giraldus, *Expugn. Mil.* i. 36.

[4] Giraldus, *Dist.* iii. 36.

retort; 'but you have brought a race[1] amongst us who 'will soon give us the opportunity.'[2]

There is one spot in Ireland which, more than any other, concentrates, as in a single focus, the whole ecclesiastical history of the island.

The Rock of Cashel.

In the midst of the golden vale of Tipperary rises that singular fragment which dropped from the Devil's teeth on his flight over the plain, the Rock of Cashel, crowned or surrounded with ecclesiastical reminiscences of every date. There is the old primeval, perhaps pagan stone, which won for it its earliest sanctity. There is the ancient cross and round tower of the early days of Irish Christianity. There is the Norman chapel of King Cormac—half chief, half prelate—built in that moment of transition when, as at Armagh, under the influence of Malachi, the ancient institutions and ancient architecture were just giving way to newer influences. There is the cathedral and palace—fortress rather than cathedral—of the Norman hierarchy, which, long before the Reformation, was a garrison no less than a church. There we trace the ruin and havoc wrought upon it by that famous Geraldine, Earl of Kildare—English by descent, but Irish to the backbone in manners—who burnt it because he thought the Archbishop was inside it—who, as he apologised before the English Privy Council, would not have burnt it had he not thought so—whom, 'as all Ireland could not govern him, the King 'sent to govern all Ireland.' There, beneath in the town,

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Dist.* iii. p. 32.

[2] A striking example of the likeness of the pre-Reformation to the post-Reformation Church is the establishment by Pope Innocent VIII., in 1484, of the Warden and Collegiate Church of Galway. This was expressly done to provide for 'the civilised men living in a walled town' the 'decency, 'rites, and customs of the Church of England,' apart from the wild Highlanders outside (*Essays on the Irish Church*, p. 158).

is the modern cathedral, built in the last century by Archbishop Agar, who had left the old cathedral to decay, believing—as many a French and German prelate of that age would have believed no less—that he was doing the church good service by substituting for it the unsightly structure which his admiring friends have had carved on his monument in Westminster Abbey.[1] There, in the surrounding plain, dwell the descendants of the Cromwellian soldiers, now merged in the Irish Catholic population, but uniting with the fantastic sentiment of the Celt the fierce stubbornness of the Ironsides which has made the name of Tipperary terrible. But of all the events connected with the Rock of Cashel, none is more important than the momentous Synod held within the massive walls of that dark chapel of Cormac, in which the Irish hierarchy were convened, under the presidency of the Papal Legate, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the King of England, to proclaim the identity of the Church of Ireland with the Church of England, and to restrain the barbarous practices of the Irish race. That was the foundation of the Established Church of England in Ireland. That was the first Act of Union. That was the first recognition of the Royal supremacy and of English ascendency.

Synod of Cashel.

It is in no polemical or controversial spirit that these facts are stated. But they are necessary to be borne in mind in any attempt to disentangle the knot of Irish ecclesiastical confusion, and to show that it is not the Protestant Establishment, but the English race itself, which has been the badge of conquest and the standing grievance of Ireland, however much the offence of that badge and that grievance has been enhanced in later

[1] Archbishop Agar.

days by the difference of belief. They are necessary to show that the true position of the English Church in Ireland is as the Church of the English settlers, not as the Church of the Irish nation. 'You came in with 'Elizabeth,' said the Duke of Gloucester to the Knight of Kerry. 'No, please your Royal Highness,' was the proud answer of the gallant Fitzgerald; 'we ended with 'Elizabeth.' But the confusion of the Duke of Gloucester was excusable, for, in point of fact, the entrance of the Fitzgeralds under the Norman King was exactly analogous to the entrance of the Sidneys and the Essexes under the Tudor Queen.

The Irish Protestant Church.

This brings us to the next phase of the story—the moment when 'the Church of the Anglo-Norman pale 'was transformed into the modern Establishment.'[1] For the reasons above given, it is needless to enter into the intricate and obscure controversy lately raised as to the mode in which the Episcopal succession was carried on in Ireland at the time of the Reformation. It is enough to know—what no one disputes, and what is of far more importance to bear in mind—that here, as in every period of Irish history, the confusion and anomalies which arose were such as to baffle all attempts to draw up any system or theory of civil or ecclesiastical government which would be equally suitable to Ireland and to the other parts of the British islands. Roman Catholic bishops in Protestant sees—Protestant bishops in Roman Catholic sees—bishops consecrated, if at all, by a single bishop, as in the early days of Irish barbarism—property squandered—primates unable to live at their own primatial residences—bishops hardly venturing near their sees—all this must be conceded by both parties as the historical

Its objects.

[1] *Fraser*, December 1868, p. 679.

basis of what followed. One cheering gleam alone there is—which is startling as compared with the blood-stained history of England and Scotland during the same period —that now, as in the earlier stages of Irish ecclesiastical life, there were no martyrs—no Protestant martyrs under Mary,[1] no Catholic martyrs under Henry VIII. or Elizabeth. Whatever the cause, the fact is one which might soothe many a bitter recollection, and which accords, not insignificantly, with the like phenomenon of the gentler and more pacific intercourse of the two Churches belonging to later times, to be noticed hereafter.[2]

Whatever may have been the intentions or the hopes of the Tudor sovereigns, the English Church of Ireland continued to be, but now in a still more restricted sense, the Church of the English colonists. It is not necessary to go here through the dark history of the common massacres and counter-massacres of the time of Charles I. and Cromwell, the penal laws of Anne, the corruptions and servility preceding the Union. The English clergy shared in these—it may be doubted whether they more than shared. Adam Loftus's torture of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; Ussher's protest against

[1] The traditional version of this exemption, even if not historical, is eminently characteristic of the people. Queen Mary's commission had been given to Dr. Cole. Whilst detained at Chester, in the mayor's house, for a favourable wind, the good woman of the house, who was a Protestant, secretly took out the commission, and put into its place a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost. On arriving at the Castle at Dublin, he opened the packet, and, to his confusion, found out the trick. The Lord Deputy immediately said, 'We must have another commission, and we will 'shuffle the cards meanwhile.' He returned, and obtained a fresh commission; but, whilst waiting at Chester a second time for the wind, the Queen died. (Mant's *Church of Ireland*, i. p. 251.)

[2] It must be remembered, however, that the victims of the massacre in 1641, on the Protestant side, and of the rebellion of 1798, on the Roman Catholic side, Bedell, as a confessor, on the Protestant side, Oliver Plunket, the Irish St. Thomas, on the Roman Catholic side, mournfully counterbalance this earlier immunity from persecution.

toleration; the eccentricities of Lord Bristol, whether present or absent from his see of Derry; Swift's well-known jest of the Hounslow robbers seizing the letters patent of the bishops, and occupying the vacant sees[1] —are dark blots on the Protestant hierarchy of Ireland, yet perhaps not much darker than could be found at the same time in the hierarchy of Spain and France, and even of England. On the other hand, there are well-known occasions on which the prelates of the Established Church resisted the intolerance of the Irish Parliaments, and succeeded in rejecting some of their harshest measures;[2] and, without speaking of the living, no one need fear to name with respect the vast learning of Ussher, the apostolic piety of Bedell, the eloquence and freedom of Jeremy Taylor, the unrivalled genius of Swift, the philosophic virtues of Berkeley, the Oriental learning of Pococke,[3] the princely munificence of Robinson and of Beresford, the transparent heart and lucid intellect of Whately. The hierarchy of England certainly cannot number amongst its ranks many names superior in their kind to these, and if it be said that these were mostly Englishmen, it is not the less true or instructive that their English origin, whilst it gave them their

Its merits.

[1] See the results of the commission against the Bishop of Down and Connor—commonly called the Bishop of Hammersmith—in 1693 (Reid's *Presbyterianism*, ii. p. 438).

[2] Primate Stone, and the three other archbishops of his time, in 1757.—(Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 439.)

[3] Two names, less distinguished in the Irish hierarchy, should not be forgotten in enumerating their claims on the sympathy of Liberal Churchmen. Amidst many eccentricities, Bishop Clayton was the first Western scholar who roused an interest in the Sinaitic inscriptions—the first prelate who formally proposed in his place in Parliament to follow the example, set by the Eastern Church, and followed by the American Church, of omitting the Athanasian Creed. Archbishop Newcome, the tutor of Fox, was the first prelate who advocated the necessity of a new translation of the Scriptures, and was, probably, after Tillotson, the most tolerant primate of either English or Irish Church.

peculiar powers, did not prevent them from leaving a deep impression on the Irish nation. Of two of them, at least, the traces will last as long as the history of Ireland lasts. Who that has ever seen Kilmore can forget the grave of Bedell? Close by that 'great church' (Kil-more) —great only by contrast with the small tenements which in the fourteenth century served for Irish worship—humble indeed compared with the cathedrals of England, was the episcopal palace in which Bedell gathered, as in a little fortress, the scattered Protestants of the neighbourhood, during the insurrection of 1641. There, in happier days, he, and he alone, had laboured at the one weapon which might have produced some effect on the native Irish—the translation of the Bible into their own language. In a corner of the churchyard, as far as possible removed from the church, in accordance with his known repugnance—how far beyond his age!—to intramural interments, his remains were brought a few months later, when, worn out by the hardships in his imprisonment in the castle on the neighbouring lake, he died on its shores, in the house of a friend.[1] Then it was that two signal testimonies were given to the power of Christian goodness, to the universality of Christian charity, but also to the force of the English, and to the gratitude of the Irish, nature. The troops of the rebel army escorted his body to the grave, and as they fired a volley over his coffin, shouted, *Requiescat in pace Ultimus Anglorum.* The Roman priest who stood by exclaimed, *Sit anima mea cum Bedello.* The sacred grave in that thronged cemetery is now overshadowed by a branch of a vast sycamore which he himself planted in

Bedell at Kilmore.

[1] This friend (Sheridan) was a Protestant, but, as an Irishman, he was protected. This has been adduced, perhaps justly, as a proof that the war was one, not of religion, but of races.

the adjacent garden, and which seems to connect his saintly end with his generous and genial life. 'Bury me 'in the sepulchre wherein the man of God is buried, and 'lay my bones beside his bones,' was the request of one of his successors in the see; and another built in his honour the new cathedral, which, amidst whatever changes, will always remain a monument of the affection with which his memory was cherished as the ideal of a Christian bishop. He was the Ken of the Irish Church —towering above the faults of his own order, endeared even to the enemies of his religion and his nation. Or look at Armagh, that ancient seat of Irish Christianity, where St. Patrick was believed to have followed the mystic fawn to the summit of the hill which rises like an altar in the midst of the surrounding eminences, but which had been long forsaken by the Primates who derived from it the proud title of their see. In those stormy times, when Ulster was either still shaking or only just emerging from the perpetual strifes of rival or insurgent chiefs, they retired to Drogheda, and left the cathedral, the only memorial of departed greatness, brooding in deserted grandeur over the collection of wretched hovels which surrounded it. Not till the middle of the eighteenth century did any Primate reside in the sacred city. It was reserved for Archbishop Robinson to create the present Armagh.[1] He expressed and he fulfilled the nobly ambitious wish: 'I found it of mud; I left it of stone.' Palace, park, school, library, observatory, barracks, churches, infirmary, all sprung from his munificence. It may be doubted whether anywhere else,

Robinson at Armagh.

[1] The munificence of the Primates is, however, of earlier date. Archbishop Boulter left the whole of his fortune to the Irish Church (*Letters*, i. p. 6), and was prodigally bountiful to the poor in Dublin, during a period of distress, in 1739–40 (ibid. i. p. 279).

unless at Toledo, are so many monuments of episcopal generosity; certainly nowhere so many from a single hand.[1]

Its connexion with England.

Whatever may be the anomalies and failures of the Irish Established Church, its vocation and its merit has been that it has been one of the chief channels through which the graces of English civilisation have flowed into Ireland. If the Roman Catholic Church has fostered the Celtic virtues of purity, of devotion and of self-denial, the Established Church has fostered the English virtues of moderation, of justice, and of loyalty. Almost the only residents out of a nation of absentees,[2] almost the only pastors of independent character in the midst of a hierarchy who depend for their maintenance on the offerings of their flocks, it is not to be wondered at that in this respect they should have won general esteem, even from their opponents. One of the most truly episcopal sayings of our time, because the most expressive of the elevation of soul and independence of mind which ought to characterise a chief pastor of the Church who is also a chief servant of the State, was uttered not by an English, but an Irish, not by a Roman but a Protestant bishop: 'Sooner would 'I tear the lawn from my shoulders, and sink my seal 'deeper than ever plummet sounded, than I would con-'sent to hold rank and wealth, on the disgraceful tenure of 'always swimming with the stream and never contradict-'ing public opinion.' It is as creditable to the Irish clergy as it is to the Roman Catholic prelate who has declared respecting them, 'that in every relation of 'life, the Protestant clergy who reside amongst us are 'not only blameless, but estimable and edifying. They

[1] See Young's *Travels in Ireland*, i. p. 160.

[2] There have been, of course, many lamentable exceptions of clerical non-residents, as there have been many brilliant exceptions of lay residents.

'are peaceful with all, and to their neighbours they are 'kind when they can; and we know that on many occa- 'sions they would be more active in beneficence, but 'that they do not wish to appear meddling, or incur the 'suspicion of tampering with poor Catholics. In bearing, 'in manners, and in dress, they become their state. If 'they are not learned theologians, they are accomplished 'scholars and polished gentlemen. There is little inter- 'course between them and us; but they cannot escape 'our observation, and sometimes when we noticed that 'quiet, and decorous, and modest course of life, we felt 'ourselves giving expression to the wish: *talis cum sis 'utinam noster esses!*'[1] May it not be said without offence to the respected author of this generous tribute, that, in a certain sense, the clergy whom he thus eulogises are after all the instructors of his own Church—that not only do their works from time to time penetrate even into Roman Catholic libraries, but that the freedom of Irish Catholic worship from the coarse and flimsy decorations, from the disproportionate veneration of relics and saints so common in the southern countries of Europe, is in part owing to the presence of a neighbour whose influence is felt even when it cannot be directly recognised.

This position the Irish Established Clergy owe to their connexion with the English State and Church.[2] Other changes may take place in their condition; their bishoprics may be retrenched, their parochial ministrations may be curtailed, their revenues may be diminished; but so long as this position is preserved, their peculiar usefulness re-

[1] *Letter addressed to the Clergy of the Diocese of Kerry*, by the Right Rev. David Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry, p. 13.

[2] It is a significant fact, that whereas, of the nine Irish bishops who voted, in 1719, against the toleration of the Ulster Presbyterians, seven were Irish and two only English; of the six bishops who voted in favour of it, five were English, and one only Irish.—(Reid's *Presbyterianism*, iii. p. 107.)

mains; if this is taken away, they may still perform functions common to those of other Churches, but their peculiar vocation is gone. The English Church in Ireland may become an aggressive Episcopal or Presbyterian sect; it will cease to be what, with all its faults, it has hitherto been—the one religious institution which has most constantly fostered liberty of thought and action, most steadily exercised a moderating and civilising influence on the country.

The Presbyterian Church.

(3.) There is yet one further element in the ecclesiastical history of the Irish Churches. Besides the native Irish religion, besides the religion of the English conquerors, whether Papal from the second to the eighth Henry, or Protestant from the Tudors to the Guelphs, there is the religion of the Scottish colonists, with the more or less closely kindred forms of Protestantism that have sprung out of it, or attached themselves to it. A humble church near the coast of Antrim, between Larne and Carrickfergus, is pointed out as the cradle of Irish Presbyterianism—where Edward Bryce first planted the better principles of the Scottish Church, 'insisting most on the 'life of Christ in the heart, and the light of His word and 'Spirit on the mind.'[1] It may be almost said that this was a predestined addition to the religious complications of Ireland. The basaltic causeway, by which, in the legends of Ulster, the Giant was believed to have intended to have stepped from Antrim to Staffa, was never completed, or lay beneath the ocean. But not the less across the narrow strait which parts the northern extremity of Ireland from the Western Hebrides did the course of emigration pass and repass between the two countries which in earlier ages were united by the common name

Connexion of Ireland with Scotland.

[1] Reid, i. p. 95. After 'continuing with quiet success from 1613 to 1636,' he was buried at Broadisland (ibid. i. p. 203).

of Scotia. Thus floated in his coracle Columba and his companions to Iona. Thus came Robert Bruce for shelter to the cave in Rachlin, where he watched the famous spider. Thus came his brother Edward to Larne, and almost wrested the island from the grasp of his feeble namesake of England, whom he had already defeated at Bannockburn, and but for the fatal field of Athunrey might have annexed Ireland to the crown of Scotland, and placed on Scotland the heavy burden which, owing to that dubious success, has been since borne by England alone. Thus came, as the traditions of Donegal maintain, the unhappy Prince Charles Edward,[1] on his flight from the field of Culloden—the last resting-place for the sole of his foot before he finally embarked from Columba's Glen for his lifelong exile. Thus came, and to the very same spot where Edward Bruce had landed, the presbyters of the Church of Scotland to minister to the Scottish emigrants whom James I. planted in Ulster,[2] at the close of the long wars which for centuries had laid waste that fairest of the Irish provinces. Everyone has felt or heard of the strange sensation as of another country, of another civilisation, of another accent, which meets the traveller as he emerges from Connaught or Leinster into Ulster. Then begins the vexed question of Orange flags on church steeples, and of the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. Then the local legends themselves put on a Protestant and Caledonian dress. The fantastic towerlike crags of the Giant's Causeway[3] are the supposed chimney-tops which lured the ships of the Spanish Armada to destruc-

[1] Compare Arnold's well-known and instructive saying: 'The defeat of 'Bannockburn should be celebrated as a national thanksgiving; the victory 'of Athunrey as a national humiliation.'

[2] For the celebration of the bicentenary of the landing at Carrickfergus in 1642, see Reid, iii. p. 484.

[3] The very name of 'causeway' is probably of Scottish origin. The Scottish street is the 'chaussée' or 'causeway.'

tion. The rock on which they foundered is the 'Protes-'tant Defender.' A black figure against the basaltic columns is the Priest, whom the Giant petrified when his services were no longer needed.

Through the Episcopal Church Irish Protestantism had doubtless received a large measure of Puritanism; but it was from Scotland that it became seized with the burning zeal of the Solemn League and Covenant. Following in the wake of this Presbyterian Church, all but established in the north of Ireland, came the storm of Cromwell's in- Cromwell.
vasion, which threatened for a time to do for Munster and Leinster what James I. had done for Ulster. It was undertaken, like a solemn religious act, with fasting and praying, and strong crying and tears,[1] and with a sense of unworthiness for so great a service. It failed, indeed, but it left its fiery marks behind. The sufferings which it inflicted on the Irish race were to be likened only to those of the Jews in their destruction by Titus.[2] The name of Cromwell, 'the curse of Cromwell,' still lives in Ireland, though forgotten in England. The hatred which clings to the name of 'Tory' dates from the time when Cromwell's troopers hunted the Irish bogtrotters, or 'Tories,' as one of 'the three burdensome beasts' that infested Ireland.[3]

It broke again into flame in the wars of James and William. It was concentrated in the two strongholds respectively of the Orange and the Protestant cause—Enniskillen and Londonderry. Derry! what a chain does that beautiful city weave between the earliest and the latest history of the Irish Church. There in the 'Oak

[1] Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 31.
[2] Clarendon (Hallam, iii. p. 527).
[3] The 'three burdensome beasts' were the wolf, the priest, and the Tory. (Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 151, 176.)

Derry.

'Grove,'[1] which he loved beyond all other spots on earth, and which gave the place its name, Columba spent his happiest days, and left some of his most living recollections. Cathedral, chapel, sacred stone, all bear the designation of the fierce old Celtic saint, handed down from days when English, Scottish, Norman settlements were still in the unbroken future. 'There, eleven centuries 'afterwards, on the verge of the ocean, hunted to the last 'asylum, and baited into a mood in which men may be 'destroyed but will not easily be subjugated, the imperial 'race of Englishmen and Scotsmen turned desperately to 'bay against the aboriginal people.'[2] No spot in the British Isles is more deeply imbued with historic recollections than Londonderry. Nowhere can the Protestant Englishman feel a glow of prouder enthusiasm than as he catches from the ancient ramparts by Walker's monument the distant view of the Foyle, up which the Mountjoy came on the memorable July evening, bearing succour to the heroic inhabitants of Derry. But the Churchmen must always bear in mind that this glory was shared in equal proportion by the Presbyterians, who during those long months of famine and distress partook of the toils and the dangers of the Episcopalians.[3] The bitter controversy which broke out after the siege between Walker and Mackenzie is only the symptom of the like rivalry which has unfortunately on more than one occasion since divided the Protestants of Ulster. Anyone who knows the denunciations of the Orange toast, as given in their full original freshness, will see that it has its root in anything but an episcopalian soil. The Regium Donum, granted by William III. to the Presbyterians before the Battle of the Boyne[4] is but a scanty acknowledgment of

[1] Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 288.
[2] Macaulay, iii. p. 163.
[3] Reid's *Presbyterianism in Ireland*, ii. p. 388.
[4] Ibid. ii. 405.

the services which in that great struggle they rendered to the English Crown and the Protestant cause.

Around this nucleus naturally grew up the other non-conforming sects; and amongst the later developments of Irish Protestantism not the least curious are the traces of Wesley's preaching on the Parade at Limerick, under the thorn-tree of Adare, in the Palace at Derry; or of those more transitory ebullitions of fervid zeal in the successive 'revivals'[1] that from time to time have agitated the Protestant population both of North and South.[2] And it is one of the most striking proofs of the vigour of this branch of the Church in Ireland, that from it sprung the founders of the Presbyterians and of the Methodists of the United States.[3] From the same wild county of Donegal, that gave birth to the first missionary of Scotland, sprang Francis Mackenie and Patrick Mackie, the two earliest Presbyterian ministers of Philadelphia. And from the Irish 'Palatines,' as they were called—the refugees from the Palatinate who settled near Limerick, and on whom Wesley[4] produced the deepest impression—issued forth Philip Embery and Barbara Heck, the founders of the first Methodist chapel in New York. Wesley.

The influx of this extreme Protestantism into Ireland, though it elicited some of the most ferocious passions of the nation, yet had the same good result that it had in England, of awakening a fervour which had before been wanting in the older churches. The singular grace of

[1] It is one of the peculiar features of the Irish revivals that they did, at least in some instances, tend to allay rather than increase the violence of party spirit. (Reid, iii. p. 512.) In the year of their triumph, 1859, the anniversary of the 12th of July for once passed in Belfast, even in Sandy Row, without drums, drunkenness, or disturbance.

[2] For the active part taken by the Society of Friends in the Irish famine, see Dr. Andrews' *Church in Ireland*, p. 31.

[3] Ibid. pp. 28, 29.

[4] Wesley's *Journals*, May 21, 1767.

the Irish nation opened a path for the refined enthusiasm of Wesley, such as he had vainly sought in Scotland.[1] He found, he said, 'as much courtesy in their cabins as 'he could have found at St. James's or in the Louvre. 'Our people here,' he added, 'are the most zealous, 'lively, affectionate we have in the kingdom.'

Advantages of Presbyterian Protestantism.

Before his time the same negligence had extended to both Churches. If there were English bishops of Protestant sees in Ireland who never could face the stormy waves of St. George's Channel, there were also Roman Catholic bishops who usually resided on the Continent, and only visited their dioceses for the sake of recreation.[2] The careless administration of their parishes by the Protestant clergy is too well known. Not equally well known, but equally true, is the like carelessness of the Roman clergy. Many of them made money by farming; others attended races; not a few hunted. Almost all wore brown coats. Confirmation, even by exemplary prelates, was almost entirely neglected. The good Catholic Bishop Delany, 'the only man who ever made the austere 'Alban Butler laugh,[3] used to publish long lists of 'parishes where he intended to hold visitations, but, when 'the advertised time came, it invariably found the bishop 'confined to his room by gout or on a visit with the 'patriot peer Lord Cloncurry, or Dr. Moylan of Cork.' This apathy was broken up in Ireland, as in England, at any rate simultaneously with the fervour of Wesley. His revivals and those which have followed may be mere passing phenomena, but they kept alive the flame of spiritual life, and both the Church of Rome and the Church of England have felt and profited by the warmth.

[1] Southey's *Life*, ii. p. 294.
[2] Letter of Pope Benedict XIV. (Brennan's *History of Ireland*, ii. p. 308).
[3] Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, i. pp. 97, 99, 117, 506.

With this fervour has been and is combined, whether in the Presbyterian Church itself or in the outlying sects, the fierce and narrow intolerance,[1] and the domination of the majority over the minority,[2] which is the bane of religious parties, or so-called Free Churches. 'Why do 'you prefer the voluntary system?' was the question of an English traveller to an intelligent Irish Methodist layman on the hills of Donegal. 'Because it enables the 'majority at once to turn out the minority,' was the decisive and instructive answer. The principle of subscription to the Westminster Confession was fought out with a bitterness beyond anything that has occurred in England or Scotland; and the free element of thought has, consequently, been driven into the small sect of Unitarians. The connexion of the Presbyterian Church with the Established Church of Ireland on the one hand, and with the Established Church of Scotland on the other, doubtless sustained for a long time a freer spirit in the Ulster Synod;[3] and the State has always recognised the more liberal as well as the more exclusive branch of the Presbyterians both in constitution and in salary. But in proportion as these influences were withdrawn, it is probable that the wilder and more imperious ecclesiastical passions of these several communities would more and more obtain the ascendency.

Its disadvantages.

[1] See the condemnation (in Reid's *Presbyterianism*, iii. p. 113) of the Belfast Society, as 'undermining the entire system' of Christianity merely by the assertion of the most fundamental principles of toleration. Compare also the extraordinary statements in vol. iii. pp. 279, 296.

[2] See a powerful statement of these evils in Mr. Ludlow's Essay in the *Contemporary Review* of December, 1868.

[3] Reid, iii. pp. 302, 304. Jeremy Taylor's *Original Sin* was bitterly denounced by the more rigid party in the Presbyterian Church, but held its ground through the support given to it by the English bishops (ibid. iii. p. 312).

(II.) Such are the three religions—or rather let us say the Churches of the three nations of Ireland. They have each, as I have shown, a common substratum in the character of the Irish people; they have each been coloured, to a certain degree, by the influence of each.

No settlement of Ireland can be complete which overlooks any of these elements—and their almost equal coexistence is one of the peculiar features of the Irish, as distinct from the English or the Scottish, ecclesiastical arrangements. The Church of England may, in a certain sense, be called the national Church of England, and the Church of Scotland the national Church of Scotland, because in neither of these cases do the surrounding sects (except, perhaps, in the case of Wales) represent a different nationality from that of the Established Church. In Ireland, on the contrary, there is not only a difference of religious belief and of race, but the religious divisions derived most of their force from the divisions of race; and thus, in point of fact, there are three Churches, all national, in the sense of representing a powerful nation. This coexistence, which appears in their history, is also, to a great extent, recognised by a coequality in law and in fact. Let us first look at the legal privileges and precedence of the Established Church of Ireland, and it will at once appear that, so far from its having the same exclusive position as the Established[1] Church in England, in almost every particular, it varies almost as much from that of the Church of England, as the present condition of that Church varies from its own position two centuries ago. In both cases there has been a gradual accommoda-

The co-equality of the two Churches in law.

[1] There is one apparent exception. Except in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, no English prelates take so high a place in the executive functions of the State as the Irish primates occupy, as Lords Justices, in the absence of the Viceroy. This, however, is a mere excrescence, which belongs to a state of things long past, and could be at once removed.

tion of the institution to the altered state of the country; and in both cases this change has hitherto been consistent with the existence of the English Constitution as the safeguard of the freedom and the development of the diverse tendencies which belong to English Protestantism.

The equality of the three Churches.

In England, the Roman Catholic prelates have no rank and no precedence. In Ireland, their archbishops rank before Protestant bishops; their bishops before Protestant deans;[1] till the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill of 1851 they could legally assume the titles of all sees not occupied by bishops of the Established Church. In England, every prelate but two has a permanent seat in the Legislature. In Ireland, only four prelates have seats at a time, and none have a permanent place.[2] In England, the parochial and diocesan system is confined to the Established Church. In Ireland, the two Churches have their dioceses and parishes, over against or conterminous with each other, throughout the island; every Protestant bishop is aware that he has a Roman Catholic brother or rival, as the case may be;[3] every Protestant 'parson' knows that he has a Roman Catholic 'priest' sharing with him the superintendence of his flock—the very word 'parish[4] priest,' which in England signifies, of course, the minister of the Established Church, in Ireland

[1] Such, I believe, is the present state of the law in Ireland.

[2] There was a well-known answer of Archbishop Whately to some one who asked him why he had never brought a Bill into Parliament: 'Why 'should I lay an egg for another to addle?'

[3] The gradual rise of the Roman Catholic prelates from their depressed state in which they refused the title of 'Lord' to their present condition, in which they eagerly and successfully claim it, is well described in Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, i. pp. 493, 494.

[4] It was observed that if, at the late Congress in Dublin, an English clergyman had announced his intention to read a paper on 'The Duties of 'the Parish Priest,' he would have found himself pledged to deliver an address on the functions of the Roman Catholic priesthood.

means as distinctly the Roman Catholic pastor.[1] In England, no Roman Catholic clergyman can perform the religious funeral rites of his coreligionists in the parish churchyard; in Ireland, any Roman Catholic clergyman or Nonconformist minister can (with the permission, it is true, of the incumbent—a permission, it is believed, always granted) perform the burial service in such churchyard according to the rites of his own Church or congregation.[2] In England, the privilege of solemnising the act of marriage is confined to the clergy of the Established Church. In Ireland, both the Roman Catholic and the Presbyterian clergy can, in regard to members of their own communions, celebrate marriages equally and with as full validity as the Established clergy. In England, the Roman Catholic chaplains of gaols and poorhouses are appointed by the Roman Catholics, and paid by them. In Ireland they are both appointed and paid by the Government or its agents. In England, no college connected either with the Established Church, or with Nonconforming churches, nor Trinity College, Dublin, receives from the State any pecuniary support, beyond that of legal sanction of its property. The one great college in either island which receives a large direct endowment from the State is Maynooth. Everyone who has read Lord Macaulay's Speeches will call to mind his antithesis between 'the commodious chambers, the refectories, the combination-rooms, the bowling greens, the stabling, the savoury steam of the kitchens, of his own Trinity, and the

Maynooth College.

[1] A Catholic usage, which, without direct legal sanction, has been generally recognised, is the feast of 'Lady Day in Harvest' (August 15). Contrast this with the impossibility in England of public notices announcing the 'Festival of the Assumption.'

[2] 5 Geo. IV. cap. 25 (1824). The preamble states that this easement of burial has been long enjoyed, but, not having been hitherto by law allowed, is by this Act authorised.

'miserable Dotheboys Hall which is given to the future 'priests and bishops of the Irish people.'[1] This antithesis is one which never could have been written had the great orator seen the splendid institution which he thus disparaged. If his own Trinity at Cambridge throws all like buildings into the shade, yet assuredly S. Patrick's College at Maynooth may well confront the rival Trinity College in Dublin. That stately pile,[2] conceived in Pugin's highest mood — those wide cloisters — those spacious quadrangles—that noble hall—that ample library—that green park, and precincts centred under the venerable ruins of the old fastness of the Geraldines, is worthy of the gentle graces and learned dignity of its present enlightened head; worthy also of the historic fame which Maynooth has acquired as the touchstone, for so many years, which divided true comprehensive statesmanship from fanaticism and sectarianism. Of all the poetic strains of the eminent historian whose words were just now cited, none is so full of pathos or of spirit as that which was inspired by the sacrifice of his political career to his support of the grant to Maynooth, which carries with it the whole principle of the endowment and establishment[3] of the Irish Roman Catholic Church.

[1] *Macaulay's Works*, viii. 305.

[2] This architectural equality is generally borne out by many of the palaces and cathedrals of the Roman Catholic prelates. The palace and cathedral of the Bishop of Kerry, at Killarney, are superior to those of his Protestant brother at Limerick. Bishop Doyle's biographer dwells with pardonable pride on 'the princely mansion of Braganza,' in which the bishop spent the latter years of his life (i. 417).

[3] It should be observed that not only is the grant to Maynooth directly given by the State, but that the nomination of the president and the laws of the College must be approved by the Government; and that of the eight visitors, five are appointed by the Crown, and the other three approved by the Lord Lieutenant, and that the Chief Secretary of Ireland is one of them. In other words, Maynooth is not only endowed, but, in one of the most vital points of its administration, established by the State.—(See Dr. Andrews' *Studium Generale*, p. 83.)

Nomination by the Crown to Irish Catholic dignities.

Even in the points in which that Church has professed itself more sensitive than on the question of receiving aid from the State, which in the case of Maynooth it has so freely admitted and sought—in the point of the nomination by the Crown to its highest dignities, the influence of the English State has been greater than is commonly supposed. Susceptible and jealous as the Irish Roman Catholic clergy are and have been to the appointment of their bishops by any external authority, even by the Pope himself—eagerly as they have clung to what they call the system of 'domestic nomination,'[1] yet so long as the Stuart princes[2] lived, the Irish sees were regularly filled by the nominees of James II., James III., Charles III., and Henry IX. And, even afterwards, the Roman Catholic primacy was virtually bestowed on Archbishop Curtis by the influence of the Duke of Wellington, who had made his acquaintance during the Peninsular war, when Dr. Curtis[3] was a professor in the College of Salamanca, and had laid the Duke under considerable obligations. However irregular such interventions may have been, it may be safely said that they were yet far more direct and complete interferences of royal and English influence,

[1] Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, i. 150, 173–177. This, however, was vehemently opposed by O'Connor (ibid. ii. 505).

[2] Ibid. i. 396. *Wellington Correspondence*, ii. 603.

[3] In 1819. The Duke also appointed Dr. Laffin to the Archbishopric of Cashel (see Fitzpatrick, i. 164, 165, 183; *Wellington Correspondence*, ii. 308, 387, 453). Such was the ascendency of Archbishop Curtis's manners in his office that in the synods of the prelates (it was said of him) he was 'Primate of them all.' He was more Spanish than Irish. 'He had a restlessness of gesture,' wrote Sheil, in 1828, 'and a flexibility 'of the physiognomical muscles which surpass the vivacity of Andalusia; 'and with one finger laid on his nose, with his eyes starting from his head, 'and with the other hand quivering like that of a Chinese juggler, he 'presents the most singular spectacle of episcopal vivacity at the age of 'ninety-one that I have ever seen.' A remarkable conflict between him and Bishop Doyle is recorded in Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, i. 392.

than would have ever been attempted for any Roman Catholic or Nonconformist dignities either in England or Scotland. Add to this the general protection which the English law throws over all the religious communities in Ireland, as well as in England, and it will be evident that the principle of an Establishment has reached far into the vitals of other Churches in Ireland besides that commonly called the Established Church. It is a slight but instructive fact that the only application of the Act which was passed in England in consequence of the destruction of the Portland Vase in the British Museum, was for the protection of one of the sacred crucifixes in the revered sanctuary of Clonmacnoise against some lawless depredations. There is no country in Europe where the Roman Catholic hierarchy is so powerful, so much regarded by the Government, some have even said, with the command of so much wealth, as in Ireland. This it owes directly to the shelter of English law and English liberty. When an objection is sometimes urged that the State ought not to countenance the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, the answer is that this countenance has been given so long and so generally, that it can only be withdrawn by the repeal of half the Constitution.

Recognition of the Presbyterian Church.

The Presbyterian Church has not been equally fortunate, only because the body which it represents is smaller. But then again its legal position is more clearly defined and established than that of any Nonconformist Church in England. Not only has it received a direct maintenance from the State, since 1689,[1] but before

[1] For the Regium Donum to the Presbyterians, see Reid, ii. 484, 485, 489; iii. 401–412. Its largest increase was probably owing to the original Presbyterian connexion of Lord Castlereagh (ibid. iii. 407). A like scheme was granted by the State, with full liberty of worship and appropriation of churches, to the French Presbyterians who settled at Portarlington and

that time its ministers in several instances were ordained by the Irish Bishops, conjointly with Scottish Presbyters, through the influence of Lord Clandeboye,[1] the ancestor of a not less tolerant and more distinguished namesake. In the parishes of the North, they were in many instances the established and recognised ministers.[2] They eagerly adopted the only Imperial confession of faith that the British dominions have ever received — that of Westminster.[3] The General Assembly of Ulster, if not as completely recognised as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, is a more venerable synod than any other existing in Ireland. They obtained admission into the offices of State long before their Nonconformist brethren in England—before even their own worship was completely legalised.[4] They have since 1844 obtained the right of celebrating marriages almost on the same footing as the clergy of the Established Church.[5] It is the testimony of the austere historian of the Presbyterian Church[6] of Ulster, that 'prior to 1784, when its ministers received 'the smallest dividend of Regium Donum, they were at 'the lowest ebb in point of education, zeal, and doctrinal 'soundness. The increase of the grant has been con-'nected with their advancement in intellectual culture, 'piety, and efficiency.'

Social equality of Protestants and Roman Catholics.

As the legal relation, so also the social relation, has been and is essentially different from that of the Churches in England. Whatever may have been the estrangement, whatever the provocation, it is certain that their inter-

elsewhere, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, from 1682 to 1822 (ibid. iii. 464); and also to the United Presbyterians (ibid. iii. 356).

[1] Mant's *Church of Ireland*, pp. 454-456.

[2] Mant, p. 455.

[3] Reid, ii. 252.

[4] Ibid. ii. 421; iii. 344.

[5] Ibid. iii. 488.

[6] Ibid. iii. 406. For the general effect of Presbyterianism on the social and moral state of Ulster, see Reid, iii. 413.

course has been and is, on the whole, marked by a friendliness and cordiality,[1] strongly contrasted with our stiffness and reserve, and the more remarkable when viewed in the light of the far more extreme theological divergence of the Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic, compared with the nearer approaches of doctrine and practice in England.

It would be easy to multiply stories, some serious, some comical, of this kindly intercourse. The two Bishops of Cork not long ago met each other in the road between Cork and Kinsale, coming to restore their letters which had gone astray respectively to each. Their carriages stopped, and their prisoners were exchanged.[2] The two last Archbishops of Dublin cooperated on the most friendly terms in the Board of National Education. Within the memory of aged persons of our own time, at the centenary of the deliverance of Londonderry, the two Bishops of Derry were seen walking side by side to assist in the Protestant cathedral at the service of joint thanksgiving. About the same period a farmer called to

[1] I have spoken of the intercourse between the clergy of the two Churches because it more especially concerns my argument. But it is not less true that an Englishman is struck by the more pacific relations of the people of the Irish Churches. I cannot forbear to quote the words of one who, like his son, was surprised at a result so contrary to what is generally believed—I may add, so generally seen—in England. 'How often do we hear it asserted 'in England that by the entire Catholic population Protestants are held in 'abhorrence [and, it may be said, *vice versâ*]? On the contrary, if left to their 'own warm feelings, they are inclined to live on the best terms with their 'Protestant neighbours' (*Religion and Education in Ireland*, by the Rev. Edward Stanley, p. 10). The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam (Dr. Kelly), in 1828, gave in evidence that in no instance did a Protestant gentleman refuse contributions to his numerous applications for the building of Roman Catholic chapels (Sir George Lewis's *Irish Disturbances*, p. 414). The first Roman Catholic chapel in Derry was largely subscribed for by the Protestant bishop. Compare Mr. Bence Jones's pamphlet on the *Irish Church*.

[2] 'Pray go on opening my letters,' said another Roman Catholic prelate to one of the most eminent of living Protestant bishops; 'it is of no im-'portance.'

pay his rent to the Bishop of Limerick. He found him with another elderly gentleman seated by the fire, each with a pair of bagpipes. 'Wait,' said the Bishop, 'till 'you have heard us play a duet;' and 'Now go home and 'tell your friends that you heard a duet played together 'by the Protestant and Catholic Bishops of Limerick.' There is a parish church near Limerick, of which the story is told that the Bishop (Jebb) having heard that the clergyman was negligent and the congregation scanty, sent to say that he was coming to inspect it. The clergyman was absent, but his wife was at home. She and her husband were both on the best terms with the Roman Catholic Priest. She applied to him in her distress. He lent her his congregation for the Sunday. The church was overflowing. The Bishop came, and the device succeeded. That same respected prelate in the same diocese had himself, in a disturbed time, gone with the Roman Catholic priest[1] of his own parish to the Roman Catholic chapel, and there from the altar steps addressed the Roman Catholic flock on their duties as citizens and Christians. A still more illustrious example, Bishop Berkeley, issued, under similar circumstances, a pastoral letter to the Roman Catholic clergy of his own diocese of Cloyne. The doctrine and the practice of Bishop Law (of Elphia) would be remarkable in any age and country. 'I look, he said in 1793, 'on my Roman Catholic brethren as 'fellow-subjects and fellow-Christians; believers in the 'same God, partners in the same redemption. Specula-'tive differences on some points of faith are with me of no 'account. They and I have but one religion—the reli-'gion of Christianity. Therefore as children of the same 'Father, as travellers on the same road, as seekers of the

[1] Forster's *Life of Bishop Jebb*, p. 59; conf. 174.

'same salvation, why not love each other as brothers?[1]
'Unable to make the peasants about me good Protestants,
'I wish to make them good Catholics,[2] good citizens, good
'anything. . . . I have therefore circulated amongst
'them some of the best of their own authors.'

Social equality of Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

It would, doubtless, be easy to find parallels of kindly feeling between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians. Ussher assured their leader that 'it would break his 'heart if their successful ministry in the North were 'interrupted,' and he did in fact prove their 'very good 'friend;'[3] and with him and Bramhall originated the nearest approach ever made to a union between the two great Protestant Churches of Britain. I have already noticed the divergence of the two in the siege of Derry. It should be remembered no less that during all those memorable months the cathedral was shared between them; each had their own service within its walls; and on the whole harmony prevailed. The High Church party, after the Restoration and after the Revolution, in the Irish, as in the English Church, unfortunately prevailed in their endeavours to keep down and irritate the Nonconformists, but there have often been signs of a better temper. Even Archbishop King generously protected Professor Hutchinson—and of Archbishop Newcome and Bishop Clayton I have already spoken. The venerable Moderator of the General Assembly of Ulster, who died last year, openly proclaimed at a public meeting 'the marriage 'between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism,' and 'defied 'any one to forbid the banns.' He followed to the grave the late Lord Primate of the Irish Church, and he was in turn followed to his grave by the present. John Wesley doubtless honoured and was honoured by the higher

[1] *Quarterly Review*, lxxvi. 250.
[2] Reid's *Presbyterian Church*, iii. 378.
[3] Reid, i. 137.

ecclesiastics of England, but it may be doubted whether he ever met on this side the water such a cordial reception from an antagonist as at Cork from the genial Father O'Leary, such gracious hospitality from prelates of such entirely opposite tendencies, as at Derry, from the eccentric bishop who almost converted the great preacher to a belief in his episcopal virtues.[1] Certainly, the graces and gifts of Wesley's own character have never met a more intelligent and fervent appreciation than from the most refined and least puritanical of Irish churchmen—Alexander Knox.

It is true that within recent times this familiarity has been much restricted by the uncompromising spirit which has displayed itself in the Roman Catholic Church since the Synod of Thurles has laid those severe restrictions on the Roman Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland, that would not be borne in any other European country.[2] Roman Catholic servants are now no longer permitted to attend the family prayers of Protestant households. The seat which in the house of many a Protestant squire was reserved at his table for the Catholic parish priest, is now left vacant.[3] It is true also that the natural asperities of religious parties have often been fostered by the vehemence on both sides in that susceptible race, to a degree beyond what is found in England. Yet still the examples

[1] 'The Bishop of Derry was exemplary in all points of public worship, 'and plenteous in all good works' (Wesley's *Journals*, June 6, 1775) The same prelate was also a great favourite of the Presbyterians (Reid, iii. 351). Compare Wesley's charitable remarks on Bishop Chenevix (Southey's *Wesley*, ii. 517).

[2] See *Decrees of the Synod of Thurles*, pp. 14, 35, 53.

[3] An affecting instance of this has been told, in which the squire, finding that the old priest ceased to come to his accustomed place, and meeting him in the road, entreated his forgiveness if any offence had been given unwittingly. 'No,' the old man, with tears, replied; 'neither by you, nor your 'wife, nor your dear children, nor grandchildren; every night and every 'morning I pray for them; but—I am not allowed.'

above given of a better state of feeling show that the darker shadow[1] through which the two Churches may be now passing is not their normal or necessary condition, and they exceed anything of the kind on this side of St. George's Channel. And the general fact remains—often noticed for other purposes—that in spite of the anomalies of the Established Church, it has never been a popular grievance. In that remarkable collection of the insurrectionary poetry of Ireland, called 'The Spirit 'of the Nation,' where every page bristles with curses and denunciations of England, the Protestant clergy are but once mentioned. Amongst the exciting 'Realities of Irish 'Life,' it is always the landlord and the agent, not the clergyman, who is the hero or the victim against whom both priests and tenants are combined. And even in the midst of a proposal for considerable changes in their condition, Bishop Moriarty, the most highly educated, and one of the most highly esteemed of the Roman prelates, bears the testimony already cited to their beneficial influence, the possible loss of which he candidly laments, at the same time that he advocates their withdrawal.

(III.) What, it may be asked, are the practical results of this historical summary?

These are far too large, far too complicated, to be entered upon here. Yet three special remarks may be made, as directly flowing from what has been said, and two general reflections.

(1.) Each element in the Irish ecclesiastical life ought to be developed in the natural channels indicated by its own separate characteristics. What the law might do

[1] It is needless to say that during the time of elections, and elections conducted on such a war-cry as those of the last year, the animosities of both parties must be highly excited. But this is a mere transitory phenomenon.

beneficially is indicated by what history has already done. What statesmen might hope, is indicated by what they have already attained. What statesmen might avoid, is indicated by what they have already abandoned. When experiments are said to have been tried in Ireland and failed, it has been truly and justly asked, 'What experiments?' The wars of Elizabeth? The curse of Cromwell? The terrific penal laws of Anne? Or the system of moderation and conciliation begun in 1828, and already producing fruits of civilisation and peace, such as almost counterbalance the whole previous disorder of Irish history.

Each of the three elements must be regarded as what it is historically, and as nothing more. The Roman Catholic system has been the form adopted by the aboriginal Celtic race, and as such it has for the last sixty years received a large amount of endowment and recognition. On this point the opinion of eminent statesmen has attained a unanimity so rare and so striking as to compel attention even from the most reluctant.[1] We have the expressed declarations of Burke, Pitt, Peel, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Grenville, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Francis Burdett, Henry Drummond, Sir George Lewis, Arnold, Whately, Senior,[2] Sydney Smith—to say nothing of the two most illustrious living names of the Whig party, and of all those who have declared, within the last year, their belief that this is the course which their own unbiassed convictions would have led them to adopt. It was formally adopted in 1825 by the House of Commons, by a majority of 43, in a reso-

[1] See *Quarterly Review*, lxxvi.

[2] See, especially, Mr. Senior's pamphlet on *National Property*. I might add many other authorities. I will content myself with the elaborate argument of Dr. Ludlow in the *Contemporary Review*, December, 1868; and the short but decisive appeal of Mr. Goldwin Smith (*Irish Character and Irish History*, p. 132).

lution which has never been cancelled. It is justified not only by the precedents of Ireland, already cited, but by the still more direct examples of Malta and Canada. It is the policy adopted towards, and accepted by, the Roman Catholic Church in every other country in Europe. It is the only policy which even professes to satisfy the claims of justice. The demand for the destruction of a rival, without advantage to ourselves, may be vengeance, but it is not justice—may be the savage war-cry of the ancient Gibeonites,[1] but is not the legitimate claim of a Christian State or of a civilised Church. It is the only policy which would tend to remove one of the most dangerous temptations of the present Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, by making them independent of the popular prejudices and disaffection of those to whom, by the present wretched system of fees and lotteries, they have to look for their daily maintenance and support. It is a policy which, by the nature of the case, is not less just or less wise now than it was fifty or twenty or two years ago. The only impediment which it has to overcome is the same bigotry and prejudice which resisted the Roman Catholic Relief Act, the Test and Corporation Act, the Maynooth grant, and which, in each of those cases, was, by the determination of the leaders of public opinion, steadily met and overcome.

Endowment and recognition of the Roman Catholic Church.

(2.) The Church of England is the Church of the English settlers. It is not the national Church of Ireland, any more than it is the national Church of India. But the bishops and clergy of Ireland, as much as the bishops and clergy of India, are prelates and ministers of the national Church of England, deriving from its laws,

The Established Church the Church of the English settlers.

[1] 2 Sam. xxi. 4–6: 'We will have no silver nor gold of Saul, nor of 'his house. . . . Let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and 'we will hang them up unto the Lord.'

from its government, from its authority, the same advantages that are derived by the clergy of the mother country, however much the difference of circumstances may justify the loss of particular privileges which belong to the Englishman at home, but not to the Englishman abroad. The vast area comprised in the 'unions' of Irish parishes is already more like to the vast area of an English clergyman in a district of India or of the colonies, than to the compact structure of a rural parish in England. The accumulation of see upon see, and of parish upon parish, has already been an accommodation to the actual facts of the case. Any other changes in the same direction would be but carrying out a principle already admitted. The English Church in Ireland has always exercised, and will always exercise, an influence far beyond the pale; but it has done so not so much in virtue of its Irish as of its English qualities. It can only be separated from the Church of England, of which it is an integral portion, either by a series of penal laws, or by a complete and absolute disruption from within. Such a separation, whatever other advantages it may bring with it, will cut off from it whatever have hitherto been its redeeming characteristics. No new Constitution is either demanded or required.

As no Protestant could claim the separation of the Irish Catholic Church from the see of Rome, so no Catholic could claim the separation of the Irish Protestant Church from the Crown and laws of England. Equality in rank, in precedence, in legal rights, and, if it be possible, in wealth, is a legitimate object of ambition for either community. But the destruction of the internal constitution of either Church is not needed for the satisfaction of the other. Nor is it probable that a Liberal government would be willing to promote the extinction of the Liberal

minority of a Church which can ill afford to lose whatever elements of liberality or progress it now contains.

The union with the Presbyterian Church.

(3) Of the third Church it is not needed to say more than has been already implied. What has been said of the Irish Catholic Church applies to the Irish Presbyterian Church with the necessary modification of the two cases. But it is impossible not to express a hope that the aspirations of Ussher and Newcome for a more cordial union between the two Protestant Churches might at last be realised, and that the closer homogeneousness which in some important respects exists between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians of Ireland, might lead to that closer intercourse and intercommunion between the Church of England and its Nonconforming and Presbyterian brethren, which on a former occasion I ventured to suggest as one of the most easy, most salutary, and most necessary reforms in the existing relations of the English State and the English Church.

Conciliation by the Imperial Government.

Finally, this leads us to the general remark that the example of Ireland, if in some respects a warning to England, is in other respects a model. Nowhere, as we have seen, has the Church of England had such opportunities for conciliating its two chief rivals; nowhere is there such a field for attempting the kind of conciliation which, in England, would be as desirable, but in some respects more difficult.

In the graveyard of the Protestant cathedral of Tuam there stands the stem of the ancient sculptured cross of the original church. In the precinct of the Roman Catholic cathedral there stands its pedestal. The two fragments cannot be exclusively appropriated by either church. Neither can be expected to relinquish what each prizes, and what each has been the means of preserving. Neither would be so ungenerous as to wish

to destroy what the other possesses, merely because the one has lost it. What all good Churchmen, what all good Catholics of Tuam naturally wish for this ancient cross, is what every wise statesman, every true Christian, would wish for the religion of which that cross is the symbol, namely, a neutral ground, a mutual truce, by which the two parts shall at last be joined, as the emblem of peace, not as the landmark of division. That neutral ground, that mutual truce, has hitherto been found in the pacifying influence, in the general control, of the Imperial Government; in the progress of national education; in the silent influences of resident gentry, whether Irish or English.

It has been boldly but truly said by a distinguished Churchman, who would else appear to have taken an opposite view, that in these high matters the State has shown itself more Christian than the Church.[1] If this be so in the questions of general policy now most crying for solution, it certainly would seem not to be the moment to choose for severing any of the Irish Churches from these 'more Christian' influences. It has been said, with all the weight belonging to the calm judgment of the eminent statesman who uttered the maxim, that in 'Ireland, far 'more than in England, improvement and civilisation must 'descend from above; they will not rise spontaneously from 'the inward workings of the community.' If this be so in secular matters, it is surely still more true in ecclesiastical matters, where the spontaneous working even of that highly gifted community too certainly needs all the stimulus which a more vigorous race and a more impartial Government can give it, for the development of its natural resources.[2]

[1] Dean Alford's *Essays*, p. 65.

[2] Preface to Sir G. C. Lewis's *Disturbances in Ireland*.

(4.) It is sometimes said that the day for compromise is past. It may be much more truly said that nothing but compromises have been proposed, or can, in the present state of the Empire, be accepted. The advance of civilisation, which forbids the total destruction of institutions, such as was common two hundred years ago—the framework of the Constitution, which has already admitted concessions on all sides that cannot be revoked—the pledges made to each other and to the country by the two political parties—above all, the complexity of the three religious elements which have been here set forth—exclude the adoption of any measure that is not in some degree a compromise. It is a choice, not between destruction and reform, but between various kinds of reform. Amongst these the selection may be difficult, but such a discriminating selection is the work to which this nation is called. It may be obstructed by the passions of contending parties, by the vehemence of popular prejudice; but let us not say that it is beyond the reach of English statesmanship and Irish patriotism. Let us not say that the best remedies are in themselves too late; let us hope that to the chiefs who guide the fortunes of the State, the very seriousness and delicacy of the enterprise will be its best recommendation. What Grotius applied to the task of the kings of Europe in his time, may be still more truly said of the complicated problems of Irish ecclesiastical policy: 'Difficile negotium propter 'studia partium in dies odiis inflammata; sed tantis 'Regibus—tantis viris—nihil dignum nisi quod difficile, 'nisi quod ab aliis omnibus desperatum.'

Inevitability of compromise.

Let us conclude by an illustration from the life of the early Irish saint on whose character we dwelt at the opening of this address.

There was a question in the sixth century as to the

privileges and endowments of the Bards, the ancient spiritual hierarchy of Ireland. There were various charges brought against them. One was their disproportionate number. Every one of the first rank had thirty followers, every one of the second rank fifteen in his train; so that a third of the population were dependent upon them. Another complaint was that they quartered themselves on their neighbours from the 1st of November to the 1st of May. A third was that they demanded the gold brooch in the king's mantle.

Convention of Drumceat.

For these reasons Aedh or Hugh, the son of Ainmin, convoked the Convention of Drumceat,[1] and proposed a total extirpation of the whole order.

There was present at the assembly no less a person than the great Columba. He suggested a compromise. He urged that we ought to beware lest in pulling up the tares we pulled up the wheat also. He proposed that their inordinate rights and their inordinate train of dependents should be restrained, and that they should be bound to keep open schools in history, and all branches of learning then known in Ireland. He felt that their loss would be a serious blow to the civilisation of the country, and that all needful reform might be obtained by a reduction of their numbers, and a definition of their duties.

This resistance to the entire suppression of the ancient Irish hierarchy excited fierce divisions in the Court of Aedh. One of the princes threw mud at the great Irish saint as he entered the assembly. Another reverently kissed him on both cheeks and gave him his seat. Columba, after the manner of those times, requited the two receptions with corresponding curses and blessings.

[1] It is now called *Darig Hill*, or the *Mullagh*, near Derry.—(Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 29, 87.)

The hostile prince was struck with idiocy, and his mother and her waiting-maid transformed into two herons, who stand for ever, watching for their prey at the ford of Drumceat.

The more conciliatory chief was to have the privilege, unusual for an Irish prince, of fulfilling one out of every seven of his promises, and of dying in his own bed, surrounded by his family and kinsmen.[1]

The result was the preservation, on a more modest scale, of the Bardic Order. Its harp, the symbol of ancient civilisation, is still the emblem of Ireland, and still has its place in the Imperial banner of Britain.

So deeply were St. Columba's services valued by the Bardic hierarchy, that their chief priest, who himself became a saint, composed a panegyric or hymn in his praise, and which was supposed to have such a charm, as by its repetition to secure even murderers from the hands of their pursuers.[2]

Whether or not we reap Columba's reward, we may be content to follow in his steps. But that reward, in another and a far higher sense, is still in the power of the Irish Bardic order to bestow. I have spoken much of the civilising, controlling, and elevating influence of the State—do not suppose that I underrate the true power that still resides in the clergy of the three Churches—may I say especially in the clergy of the Established Church?—if they know how to use it. They must not turn to the charms and curses of the old barbaric age; not to the penal and exclusive laws of the last century; not to the armed neutrality or mutual aggressions which some hold out to us as the prospect in which Ireland is henceforward to delight. Not in these,

[1] Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 38. [2] Todd's *St. Patrick*, pp. 133–138.

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Duty of the Irish clergy.

nor in any dreams of unborn churches and synods, does the true mission of the Irish clergy consist. It consists in making the most of their situation, whatever it is. It consists in turning to the best account whatever has come down to them from the Church of former ages. It consists in their consciousness that their present trial has been aggravated by the negligence and injustice of former times, for which they are not responsible, but which excuses, if it does not justify, their opponents. It consists in the fact that they are now in the position the most interesting, the most exciting, the most stimulating, in which any Church can be placed. In that union of various elements, which in their country have been so strangely brought together, there lies a chance of coming usefulness, such as even England and Scotland have not in like degree. What I have endeavoured to do is to lay before them the treasures which have been bequeathed to them by the past, and which are to inspire them for the future. Whatever framework the State gives to the Church—whether it preserves that which is, or imposes that which is to be, the spirit must be infused into it by the Church and by the clergy. That spirit may be the spirit of a narrow, proselytising, and exclusive sect; or it may be more and more, what it has been in great measure, in spite of all our joint shortcomings—taking it at its best and not at its worst—the free, magnanimous, imperial spirit of what has been for seven hundred years the United Church of England and Ireland.

NOTE A.

ON THE WORDS 'DISESTABLISHMENT' AND 'DISENDOWMENT.'

I have stated in the Preface that these words were purposely omitted from any part of the Address, on account of their extreme ambiguity.

This is not a mere matter of words. It has deeply entered into and confused the whole controversy on the subject.

There have been various schemes proposed for any future constitution or arrangement of the Irish Church, which have been successively attacked as being only 'half-measures,' 'compromises,' or the like.

All such attacks proceed on the supposition that there is some measure before the public, or likely to be brought before Parliament, which shall be a 'wholesale 'destruction,' an 'entire abolition,' a 'total disestablish-'ment,' and 'total disendowment' of the Irish Protestant Church.

Such a supposition is evidently groundless. The present Attorney-General, on addressing his constituents, is reported to have said that the country was pledged, not to a complete disestablishment, but 'a disestablishment to a 'certain extent.' Others, of still greater authority, without speaking of any new Constitution, yet of the endowment, which is an important part of the Establishment, have declared that a very large amount of property will be left in the hands of the Irish Church, including the churches, and amongst them St. Patrick's Cathedral, of

which a leading Roman Catholic organ (the *Tablet*) stated that it was one of the possessions of the Established Church most prized by the Irish Catholics, and by them most grudged to the Protestants.

'Total disestablishment' and 'total disendowment' would, of course, be perfectly practicable. They have taken place again and again. Such was the case when the Protestant Church was extinguished in Spain and in Italy; and in England under Mary. Such was the case when the Roman Catholic Church was extinguished in England under Elizabeth, and in Sweden under Gustavus Vasa. Such was the case when the Episcopal Church was extinguished in England under Cromwell, and in Scotland under William III. Not a shred of property, not a single legal right, in most cases not the permission to teach their doctrines or to celebrate their rites, was left to these several Churches. The disestablishment was complete, and so was the disendowment. In those cases there was, and could be, no ambiguity. This might, did Parliament permit, be carried out in Ireland.

But this 'total disestablishment' and 'total disendowment' is repudiated by everyone. And, on the other hand, what is proposed by everyone is 'partial disestablishment' and 'partial disendowment.' Without criticising any of the schemes hitherto suggested, it is important that this feature, common to all of them, should be at once recognised; because it may tend to prevent needless anticipations and needless disappointment; because the moment that we understand the rivalry of these plans not to be one of principle, but of detail, it becomes more easy to select from each what is really best for the pacification and civilisation of Ireland; because it brings the Irish question within the range of the progressive and gradual development of the English Constitution.

The Church of England itself has been partially disestablished and partially disendowed, as a whole or in its separate institutions, many times over—as when it lost more than half its spiritual peers and more than half its property under Henry VIII.; as when it lost its exclusive rank in the State under William III. and George IV.; as when Nonconformists were admitted to share in its endowments at the universities, and exempted from paying its church-rates.

The other religious communities, on the other hand, have by degrees become partially established and partially endowed, and every year will become more and more so; the Nonconformists by the Toleration Act, the Test and Corporation Act,[1] and many others of like kind; the Scottish Episcopalians by the various Acts which have incorporated them more or less into the Church of England;[2] the Irish Presbyterians by the Regium Donum; the Irish Roman Catholics by the Irish Marriage Acts, the Irish Burial Act, the Charitable Bequests Act, the Maynooth grants. Finally, all of them have been 'esta-'blished,' in the sense in which the connexion with the State is most bitterly complained of by the High Church and Nonconformist Liberationists, by the right of appeal to the civil tribunals for the adjudication of their religious disputes, and the consequent duty of the civil tribunals to decide on ecclesiastical and theological questions. The only difference between the Nonconformist communities and the Established Church in this respect is, that

[1] In the interesting correspondence published in Sir Robert Peel's posthumous Memoirs, it appears that the prelates at that time regarded the repeal of the Sacramental Test for offices of State as the end of the Established Church.

[2] The subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles was imposed on the Scottish Episcopalians by an Act of Parliament as the express condition of the additional privileges then given to them (see Grub's *History of the Church of Scotland*, iv. 110).

whereas in the Established Church the final appeal lies to the most carefully constituted tribunal in England, mixed of judges and prelates,—in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; the Nonconformists appeal either to the House of Lords or to the Lord Chancellor and his deputies, by one of whom, quite recently, a severe rebuke was administered to the litigants in a highly respectable Dissenting body.

No doubt, here also, 'total disestablishment' might be carried out by a penal law, forbidding the court to entertain, or the disputants to promote, any appeal from their own ecclesiastical courts; and such a state of things actually existed in Italy till within the last twenty years. But, unless such a measure be adopted, the separation between Church and State is not complete, nor is the 'disestablishment' 'total.'

NOTE B.

MAYNOOTH.

It is a well-known objection to St. Patrick's College at Maynooth that it tends to intensify the local and Celtic character of the Irish Priesthood, which, in the last century, was modified and elevated by the Continental manners and learning imported from the seminaries of France, Belgium, and Spain. The fact appears to be undoubted. But the answer is clear; namely, that the pressure which drove the Irish student to foreign schools was produced by the penal laws, and that, these having been happily revoked, it followed as an inevitable result, however unfortunate in its effects on the character of the future clergy, that they henceforth preferred to pursue their studies at home instead of abroad.

There is, however, a twofold moral to be drawn from

this acknowledged evil, which materially bears on the general question now under discussion.

1. If the education now given at Maynooth were withdrawn or crippled, the alternative would be, not as in former times, a training further removed from the habits and prejudices of the Irish peasantry, but, on the contrary, a training still more closely confined to that narrow circle. If Maynooth is more circumscribed than the foreign schools, it is far less so than the diocesan seminaries which are threatened to be established in its place. Every evil which has been complained of at Maynooth would be strengthened tenfold if the Irish students were henceforth not only not to stir out of their own country, but not even out of their own county, or town, or birthplace. Maynooth may be local and Celtic compared with St. Omer and Salamanca; it is cosmopolitan compared with Tuam or Thurles.

2. The effect said to have been produced on the Irish Catholic clergy by the French and Spanish education of the last century affords a striking illustration of the advantage conferred on the Irish Protestant Church by its connexion with the Church of England. The mitigation of the extravagances of the purely Celtic character in the Roman Catholic clergy by the influx of wider ideas and more refined manners from the Continent is exactly analogous to the like mitigation in the Protestant Church by the influx of the like fresh elements from England. From the drawbacks noticeable in the Irish Catholic clergy, in proportion to their severance from Continental education, may be inferred the probable drawbacks which would be produced in the Protestant clergy by the severance from English education, if their union with the English Church were destroyed; and in the latter case; at least, the advantage of this interchange is assuredly mutual.

NOTE C.

THE IRISH VOLUNTARY SYSTEM.

The voluntary system of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is often held out as an instance of what that system can effect, and as an example for England and for the Anglo-Irish Church. But without going at length into a matter which requires more local knowledge than any mere stranger can possess to do it justice, it may truly be said that there is no country where it holds out a stronger warning. The money, no doubt, is collected—but by the aid of means which no one would think of adopting except under the most extreme pressure. Let anyone read Sydney Smith's account—so inimitably ludicrous, were it not so painfully true—of the arts to which a clergyman under such a system is driven. Let anyone read in Mr. Senior's pamphlet on National Property the Irish realities on which that representation is grounded—as derived from the statement of a Roman Catholic priest himself. Let anyone consider the probable effect of the exaction of fees for the performance of almost every religious rite, of raising funds by the illegal and gambling process of lotteries in the poverty-stricken villages and towns of Ireland, and then ask whether these are indeed the methods which the Protestant clergy are invited to adopt, when, on the loss of their endowments, they are told to compete with the Roman Catholic clergy on this so-called voluntary system. 'Can anyone,' demands Mr. Senior, 'Protestant or Catholic, Orangeman or Repealer, contemplate these scenes of rapacity, fraud, and misery, and then calmly and deliberately affirm that the system which has created them ought to be continued?'

or, it may be added, forced upon a Church in which it has not before existed.

It will not be understood that these allegations are urged as matters of reproach to the Roman Catholic clergy. They suffer from a pressure which they did not invent, and they, doubtless, have means, which we have not, for rectifying its evils. But it is not the less true that they are enough to deter us from deliberately, and with our eyes open, following their example without their need, and to induce the wish that, rather than introduce it amongst ourselves, we might be able to restrain its operations with them. So far from the principle of independent endowment having lost ground in the world, it may be rather said that it has gained. The practice of casual fees, to which public servants formerly looked in large measure for their maintenance, have been now, both in high offices and low, exchanged, whenever possible, for fixed payments. And it is remarkable that, in the Russian Church, which has hitherto exhibited the singular spectacle of a Church established in the closest connexion with the State, yet with hardly any endowments for its parochial clergy, the evil has been felt to be so crying, that the first object of the reformers of that Church is to secure such a provision as may render the priesthood independent of these casual supports. The result has hitherto been that the very name of a priest has passed in Russia into a proverb for rapacity. 'The hands of a priest' are 'hands that never will be filled.' 'The eyes of a priest' are 'eyes that are insatiable of gain.' In the case of the Irish Catholic clergy, the fault is not theirs; but so much the more has the desirableness made itself clear of relieving them from so grievous a temptation and from so odious an imputation. Nor, if we may believe the account given by an Englishman most favourable to American institutions,

is the result more encouraging, though it may not be so depressing, in the United States. There are, surely, very few who would willingly choose to compel their fathers, brothers, and sons, who may happen to be ministers of religion, to be dependent on the same methods, or to be exposed to the same inducements, as are described by Mr. Ludlow[1] in his account of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic clergy, both in the North and South of America. Some mixture of voluntary[2] institutions there has been always, and always will be. Some virtues are called forth by this system, which would be otherwise dormant. But the adoption of it as an exclusive rule—or as an ideal system—has been condemned by the practice of Christendom, and by the general usage of civilised professions. The protests of Socrates and St. Paul were alike raised against the practice of measuring out their instruction by the amount of gain they received. Let us, with all respect for those who have been forced to adopt it, remember that if on the side of endowments there is the danger (I use the words of an excellent French Catholic) of apathy or negligence, there is on the other the no less danger of 'imperious mendicancy.'

[1] *Contemporary Review*, December, 1868.

[2] A fixed endowment (as in the Free Church of Scotland) formed and bequeathed by individuals is, equally with a State or public endowment, antagonistic to the purely voluntary system.

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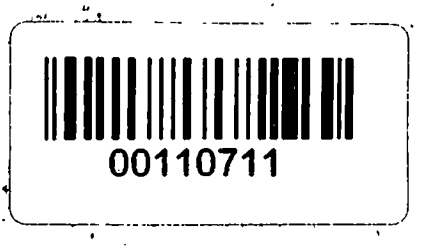
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